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ACTION EUR-25

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SUBJ: COMBAT COMMENT ON US/FRENCH RELATIONS

REF: PARIS 21022

SUMMARY: UNDER BANNER HEADLINE "ISOLATED FRANCE", BOTH FRONT-PAGE ARTICLE AND EDITORIAL IN INDEPENDENT (CENTER-LEFT) DAILY COMBAT STRESS (WITH RATHER TORTURED CARTESIAN LOGIC) FRENCH DIFFERENCES WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES AND UNITED STATES OVER MONETARY, COMMERCIAL AND DEFENCE PROBLEMS AS RELATED TO NIXON EUROPEAN VISIT. COMBAT ALSO TAKES NOTE OF AMBASSADOR IRWIN'S AUG 1 CALL ON FONMIN JOBERT.
END SUMMARY

1. FRONT-PAGE OF AUG. 3 INDEPENDENT DAILY COMBAT CARRIES BOTH LONG SIGNED ARTICLE BY RICHARD LISCIA (NOT WELL KNOWN TO EMBASSY) AND EDITORIAL TREATING FRENCH DIFFERENCES WITH ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES AND U.S. PAGE FEATURES BANNER HEADLINE "ISOLATED FRANCE" WITH LARGE SUB-HEADLINE SAYING REFUSAL OF BONN AND LONDON TO ADHERE TO FRENCH POSITIONS ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE OBLIGES

PARIS TO ACCEDE TO AMERICAN PRESSURE OR OPPOSE THE NIXON VISIT TO
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EUROPE.

2. LISCIA PEGS HIS ARTICLE ON MEETINGHELD WITH FONMIN JOBERT BY AMBASSADOR IRWIN " BEFORE LEAVING FOR WASHINGTON WHERE HE WILL BE RECEIVED BY PRES. NIXON AND DR. KISSINGER". LISCIA SAYS JOBERT MEETING WAS NOT ROUTINE BUT" ON THE CONTRARY A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC MOVE IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS." RECENT JOBERT VISITS TO US AND SOVIET UNION SEEN AS RELATING TO DIFFERENCES WITH U.S. " CONCERNING THE SIGNIFICANCE TO BE GIVEN TO PRES. NIXON'S VISIT TO EUROPE NEXT FALL." LISCIA REHASHES FRENCH DIFFERENCES WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES ANDU.S. OVER LINKING OF DEFENSE, TRADE AND MONETARY ASPECTS OF ATLANTIC PROBLEMS AND PARTICULARLY FRENCH OPPOSITION " TO A EUROPEAN-AMERICAN SUMMIT WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT ESTABLISH U.S. ATLANTIC HEGEMONY AND PRESERVE FOREVER THE POSITION OF WASHINGTON AS A SPOKESMAN FOR THE WEST." LISCIA SAYS SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT IN JUNE " ONLY MADE FRENCH ANXIETIES WORSE" AND THAT SCHEEL VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN JULY WAS "EVEN MORE ALARMING" SINCE " AMERICANS AND GERMANS AGREE ON VIRTUALLY AL THE POINTS REJECTED BY FRANCE." ARTICLE COMMENTS THAT FRANCE " IS AWARE THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS IS INEVITABLE" AND "ALSO KNOWS THAT SHE DOES NOT HAVE ANY ALTERNATE SOLUTION APT TO GIVE EUROPE A CREDIBLE DEFENSE---" LISCIA SAYS JOBERT VISITED SOVIET UNION IN HOPE OF OBTAINING FROM POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES WHAT HE COULD NOT OBTAIN FROM ALLIES "BUT AT A TIME WHEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON HAVE LAUNCHED A PHENOMENAL CAMPAIGN OF ECONOMIC AND SPIRITUAL RAPPROCHEMENT, FRANCE..DOES NOT HAVE ANY CHANCE TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS." ON NIXON VISIT, LISCIA SAYS " MR. POMPIDOU IS WONDERING WHETHER HE SHOULD PURELY AND SIMPLY VETO NIXON'S VISIT..CIRCLES CLOSE TO THE QUAI D'ORSAY AREHOPING THAT THE USG WON'T LOCK ITSELF SO FIRMLY TO IST POSITION THAT IT WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD PERMIT MR. NIXON TO MAKE HIS TRIP."

3. LISCIA SUMS UP BY CLAIMING " IN SHORT, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IS VERY CLEAR AND SENSIBLE. BUT IT DOES NOT FIND ANY ECHO IN EUROPE. THE RISK OF A NEUTRALIZATION OF WESTERN EUROPE IS REAL. BUT BECAUSE OF THE DIVERGING INTERESTS, OF THE THREE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS, FRANCE, GERMANY AND BRITAIN ARE PREVENTING THE CREATION OF THE COMMON FRONT THATWOULD COMPEL MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON TO ACCEPT PART OF THE FRENCH POSITIONS. THE CHOICE IS A CRUEL ONE FOR THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT: TO REMAIN ON REASON'S SIDE AND BE TOTALLY ISOLATED OR GO BACK ON ITS INTREASIGENCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND SUBMIT TO THE LAW OF THE STRONGEST." (SIC).

4. EDITORIAL COVERS SIMILAR GROUND, POINTING OUT KISSINGER ATLANTIC CHARTER PROPOSAL HAS NOT ACCELERATED COMMUNITY COHESION BUT INSTEAD" PROFOUNDLY DIVIDED THE EUROPEANS" WITH GERMANS AND BRITISH ON ONE SIDE AND FRANCE ALONE ON OTHER. POMPIDOU GOVERNMENT REJECTS BOTH DIRECT ENTENTE BETWEEN WUPERPOWERS AND AMERICAN DOMINATION OVER THE EEC. REMARKING ON A " CONTRADICTION" IN FRENCH

DEFENSE POLICY, THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SAY " IF EUROPE WANTS TO DECIDE HER OWN FATE SHE SHOULD ASSUME HER OWN DEFENSE. SHE DOES NOT DO THIS BECAUSE SHE CANNOT AFFORD IT. THIS OBLIGES MR. POMPIDOU TO DEMAND FROM THE AMERICANS THAT THEY EVACUATE EUROPE POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY WHILE REMAINING HERE MILITARILY. THE POSITION OF FRANCE IS THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE LINKED TOGETHER. BUT HOW CAN WE IMAGINE THAT THE AMERICANS ARE GOING TO BOW BEFORE SUCH AS ACROBATIC ANALYSIS. THE BRITISH AND GERMANS LONG AGO GAVE UP ASKING OF AMERICA WHAT IS IN NO WAY WILLING TO GRANT THEM. IN SHORT WASHINGTON PROPOSES EVERYTHING OR NOTHING, WHILE PARIS WANTS A LITTLE OF EVERYTHING."

5. EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT " POMPIDOU CANNOT GO AS FAR AS VETOING MR. NIXON'S VISIT TO EUROPE" WHICH "WOULD TRANSFORM THE DIFFERENCE INTO A CONFLICT: HE IS THUS EXPECTING AMERICAN CONCESSIONS BEFORE GIVING THE GREEN LIGHT. THIS IS A RISKY ENDEAVOR SINCE MR. NIXON IS MOST UPREDICTABLE THESE DAYS. BUT NO ONE WOULD BE PLAYING DIPLOMATIC POKER IF A POLITICAL POWER EXISTED IN EUROPE."

6. COMMENT: IF QUERIED BY PRESS, EMBASSY INTENDS CONFIRM AMBASSADOR MET WITH JOBERT BUT MAKE NO COMMENTS ON DISCUSSION WHICH IS PRIVILEGED MATTER BETWEEN THEM. ALSO WILL POINT OUT THAT AMBASSADOR HAS LEFT FOR VACATION (NOT TO WASHINGTON, AS LISCIA WRITES) AND ONLY TOWARD END OF MONTH WILL BE IN WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATION. IF SPECIFICALLY ASKED ABOUT MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT OR DR. KISSINGER, POST INTENDS REPLY ANY COMMENT THIS SUBJECT WOULD BE MADE IN WASHINGTON.

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